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INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 SP-02 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 COME-00 CU-02 IO-13 ACDA-07 MC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 IGA-02 ERDA-05 NRC-05 OES-06 EUR-12 /140 W

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R 101245Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9990

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USLO PEKING

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

CINCPAC HAWAII

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGGS: PFOR, IN, PK

SUBJECT: A POSITIVE VIEW OF INDIA/PAKISTAN RELATIONS--

THE GOI PERSPECTIVE

SUMMARY: THE GOI SEESPROGRESS AND NORMALCY IN ITS

BILATERAL TIES WITH PAKISTAN, CITING DEVELOPMENTS IN TRADE,

THIRD-COUNTRY AFFAIRS (BANGLADESH AND AFGHANISTAN), CULTURAL

AND SOCIAL MATTERS, BOUNDARY WATER AND MARITIME BOUNDARY

QUESTIONS, AND MOVEMENT OF PERSONS AND EXCHANGE OF

DETAINEES, TO JUSTIFY ITS OPTIMISM. THE PAKISTAN EMBASSY

IS LESS SANGUINE, PROTESTING THAT GOI ATTEMPTS TO

DEMONSTRATE NORMALCY IN THE ABSENCE OF A RESOLUTION

OF THE KASHMIR PROBLEM ARE MISLEADING. THE GOI

CONTINUES TO ARGUE AN A-7 SALE WOULD UPSET THE POSITIVE

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TRENDS IN SOUTH ASIA. THE PAKISTAN EMBASSY RESPONDS

THAT INDIA IS WILLING TO DISCUSS CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATIONS--FOR PAKISTAN,NOT INDIA. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY OFFICERS THIS WEEK PAID LENGTHY CALLS ON I. P. SINGH, JOINT SECRETARY FOR PAKISTAN/AFGHANISTAN AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (MEA) AND PAKISTANI POLITICAL COUNSELOR MUJAHID HUSAIN IN ORDER TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA/PAKISTAN RELATIONS. WE FOUND THE INDIAN CONSIDERABLY MORE POSITIVE THAN THE PAKISTANI, WITH THE LATTER TAKING THE VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR PAKISTAN IF INDIA WERE TO SUCCESSFULLY PROJECT AN IMAGE OF NORMALCY AND HARMONY IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WHILE KASHMIR REMAINS AN ISSUE. HUSAIN ADMITTED. HOWEVER, TO PROGRESS OR NORMALCY IN CETAIN FIELDS, ALTHOUGH HE WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE RESTRAINED THAN I. P. SINGH. WE ARE POUCHING A DETAILED MEMCON OF OUR CONERSATION WITH THE LATTER. THIS TELEGRAM INCORPORATES HIGHLIGHTS FROM THAT CONVERSATION INTERLACED WITH HUSAIN'S MORE SOBERING COMMENTARY ON THE SAME SUBJECTS.

2. ARMS CONTROL AND A-7S: IN PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT TOPIC, BOTH SINGH AND HUSAIN SAID THE SUBJECT OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL WAS RAISED IN BILATERAL CONVER-SATION IN ISLAMABAD THIS YEAR. THE INDIAN DIPLOMAT SAID THE PAKISTANIS AGREE IN PRINCIPLE BUT BACK AWAY FROM ANY DISCUSSION OF DETAIL IN THIS AREA. THE PAKISTANI, APPEARING LESS SURE OF HIS GROUND, SAID THE INDIANS ARE NEVER WILLING TO DICUSS THE SUBJECT IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY. HUSAIN ARGUED THAT THE GOI WANTS TO LIMIT PAKISTAN'S ACQUISITION OF ARMS, BUT NOT ACCEPT ANY CONTROLS ON INDIAN ARMS LEVELS, AND POINTED TO THE PAKISTANI DESIRE TO ACQUIRE THE A-U AS A CASE IN POINT. SINGH TOLD US AN A-7 SALE TO PAKISTAN WOULD CAUSE AN ARMS RACE IN SOUTH ASIA AND REVERWE THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN THE AREA. THE INDIAN DIPLOMAT ARGUED THAT ALTHOUGH THE GOI APPRECIATES THE US DESIRE TO FORESTALL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE GOI QUESTIONS THIS NEED BE DONE AT THE EXPENSE OF INDIAN SECURITY. THE GOI LIKEWISE HOPES THE GOAL OF KEEPING THE A-7 CONFIDENTIAL.

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PRODUCTION LINE OPEN WILL NOT RESULT IN FILLING THE PAKISTANI ORDER, LIKEWISE AT THE EXPENSE OF GOI SECURITY. SINGH ACKNOWLEDGED GOI HAD NOT DISCUSSED A-7 ISSUE WITH PAKISTANIS SINCE THIS WOULD LEAD NOWHERE. POLCOUNSELOR SAID WE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY INDIANS TOLD US THAT GOP PURCHASE OF A-7S WOULD DAMAGE GRADUALLY IMPROVING FABRIC OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS, BUT DIDN'T DISCUSS THIS THEME WITH PAKISTANIS.

- 3. BANGLADESH: BOTH SIDES SEE BANGLADESH AS A FACTOR
 BEARING ON BILATERAL RELATIONS. SINGH FELT THE PAKISTANIS
 HAVE BEHAVED QUITE WELL IN DACCA. HE REPORTED THE GOI HAD
 NO PROBLEM WITH PAKISTANI SUPPORT FOR THE BANGLADESHI POSITION ON FARAKKA, SUPPORT WHICH SINGH FOUND WAS REASONABLE AND
 RESTRAINED. HUSAIN SAID PAKISTAN AS A LOWER RIPARIAN COUNTRY
 UNDERSTANDS THE FARAKKA PROBLEM, AND SYMPATHIZES WITH BANGLADESH.
 AT THE SAME TIME, HUSAIN CONTINUED, PAKISTAN REALIZES
 THE LIMITS OF ITS INFLUENCE ON THIS QUESTION, AND MORE
 BRADLY SPEAKING. ON THE WHOLE INDO-BANGLADESH RELATIONSHIP.
- 4. PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS: SINGH SAID THE GOI SUPPORTS IMPROVED PAKISTAN/AFTHANISTAN RELATIONS AND THINKS THE DAOUD BHUTTO EXCHANGES ARE SALUTORY. SINGH DOUBTED THERE WOULD BE MUCH FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN THOSE TIES, HOWEVER, UNTIL BHUTTO IS ABLE TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY. HE OBSERVED THAT AN INDIAN AMBASSADOR WOULD RETURN TO KABUL VERY SOON, THE DELAY (TWO MONTHS) SINCE THE LAST INDIAN AMBASSADOR LEFT BEING ATTRIBUTABLE SOLEY TO DEPARTMENTAL PERSONAL PROBLEMS.
- 5. TRADE: WHILE SINGH WARMLY DESCRIBED THE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROBEMENT IN PAKISTANI PURCHASES IN INDIA (ABOUT RS 100 MILLION PROJECTED FOR THIS FY), HUSAIN TENDED TO BELITTLE THE PRESENT LEVELS OF BILATERAL TRADE AS INSIGNIFICANT, AND LIKELY TO REMAIN THAT WAY. SINGH GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TREND WAS POSITIVE. THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT AS TO WHETHER INDIAN PURCHASES OF COTTON WOULD CONTINUE THIS YEAR, BUT AGREEMENT THAT PAKISTAN PRODUCED ONLY A LIMITED CROP. SINGH SAID THE GOI HAD CALLED FOR A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE TRADE SITUATION WITH A VIEW TOWARD IDENTIFYING ADDITIONAL PRODUCTS INDIA COULD BUY IN PAKISTAN. CONFIDENTIAL

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HUSAIN HAD NO DIRECT COMMENT ON AN OFFICIAL REVIEW, BUT DID MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE WERE PRODUCT AREAS, BICYCLES, FOR EXAMPLE, WHERE PAKISTAN WOULD NOT PERMIT INDIAN IMPORT COMPETITION

6. SALAL DAM: SINGH REPORTED THE GOI SEES NO REAL PROBLEM HERE AND BOTH SIDES CLOSE TO AGREEMENT. HUSAIN THOUGHT AGREEMENT MIGHT STILL BE SOME MONTHS OFF. THE PAKISTANI ARGUED THAT THE GOP HAD TO ANTICIPATE THE WORSE POSSIBLE MISUSE OF SALAL--A GOI CAPABILITY OF DAMAGING PAKISTANI DOWNSTREAM INTERESTS, AND DO EVERYTHING IT WOULD TO LIMIT THAT CAPABILITY. HUSAIN SAID THE PRECEDENT OF SALAL WAS IMPORTANT TO THE GOP.

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USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 SS-15
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R 101245Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9991 INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USLO PEKING

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

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7. VISAS: HUSAIN ADMITTED THE GOI HAS CLEARED ITS BACKLOG OF PAKISTANI VISA APPLICANTS, 37,000 CASES ACCORDING TO SINGH. HUSAIN ANTICIPATES 16 ADDITIONAL STAFFERS FOR THE PAKISTANI EMBASSY IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH RECIPROCITY, BUT PENDING THEIR ARRIVAL THE PAKISTANI ADMITTED THEIR VISA BACKLONG COULD NOT BE REUDCED. SINGH ALSO REPORTED A SPECIAL INDIAN TEAM BEING SENT TO ISLSMABAD TO KEEP THE VISA FLOWING, BUT SAID THE GOI WOULD HOLD THE FIGURE TO ROUGHLY 500 PER DAY WHICH REPRESENTS THE AIR AND RAIL LINK CAPACITY FOR DAILY TRAVELERS.

8. DETAINEES: BOTH SIDES REPORT THE INITIATION OF THE EXCHANGE OF CIVIL DETAINEES APPREHENDED SINCE 1971. THERE APPARENTLY ARE HUNDREDS HELD ON EACH SIDE, PRIMARILY BORDER RESIDENTS WHO INADVERTENTLY STRAYED, SMUGGLERS AND OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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BORDER CROSSERS, AND FUGITIVES. SINGH SAID THE GOI HAD ABSOLUTELY NO INTEREST IN KEEPING ANY OF THESE PEOPLE. HUSAIN WAS MORE CAUTIOUS, POINTING OUT THAT THERE WERE SOME ESPIONAGE AGENTS AMONG THEM. SINGH SPECIFICALLY SAID THE GOI HAD PROPOSED TO EXCHANGE ALL DETAINEES, INCLUDING SECURITY CASES. WE GATHER THE PAKISTANI ENTHUSIASM FOR THIS MOVE IS LIMITED.

9. MARITIME BOUNDARY: SINGH THOUGHT THAT TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT MIGHT OPENIN EARLY 1977. HUSAIN WAS DOUBTFUL THAT THE GOP WOULD BE PREPARED TO BEGIN THAT EARLY.

10. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL: BOTH PARTIES REPORTED INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ATHLETIC EVENTS MARKING THE JINNAH CENTENARY. SINGH TERMED THIS A "BOLD STEP" BY THE GOI. HE ALSO REPORTED A PAK FILM CREW NOW IN INDIA PREPARING TO SHOOT SCENES FOR A FILM BIOGRAPHY OF JINNAH (APPROVED BY GOI AFTER PAKISTANI ASSURANCES OF CONSIDERATION FOR INDIAN "SENSIVITITIES"), AND THE PRESENCE OF AN INDIAN LEGAL DELEGATION IN KARACHI AT A SEMINAR COMMEMORATING JINNAH'S ROLE AS A JURIST. HUSAIN DID NOT COMMENT ON THESE EVENTS, BUT SAID HE DID NOT ANTICIPATE A WIDE EXCHANGE OF PEFORMING ARTISTS OR FILMS.

11. COMMENT: WHILE THE MEA DIPLOMAT CLEARLY PRESENTED A POSITIVE VIEW STRESSING PROGRESS AND NORMALCYIN THE BI-LATERAL SECTOR, THE PAKISTANI COUNSELOR WAS ALMOST BEGRUDG-ING IN HIS ADMISSION THAT THERE WERE AREAS WHERE NORMALCY PREVAILED. INDEED, HUSAIN OPENED THE CONVERSATION WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FORPRIME MINISTER BHUTTO IF THE OPPOSITION COULD ASSERT THE GOP HAD ACCAPTED NORMALCY WHILE THE KASHMIR PROBLEM REMAINED UNSETTLED. SINGH'S PRESENTATION EXUDED CONFIDENCE AND SATISFACTION. HUSAIN TOOK A MUCH MORE NEGATIVE APPROACH. SINGH MAY HAVE PAINTED THE BRIGHTEST POSSIBLE PICTURE TO SUPPORT HIS ARGU-MENT THAT A U.S. A-7 SALE TO PAKISTAN WOULD JEOPARDIZE THIS IDYLLIC SCENE. HE MAY ALSO BE PUTTING THE BEST POSSIBLE CONSTRUCTION ON INDIA'S STATUS OUO POLICY, A FACTOR THAT OUR PAKISTANI INTERLOCUTOR FORESAW AND ABOUT WHICH HE PRO-TESTED VIGOROUSLY, EVEN THOUGH HE HAD NO SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF OUR CONVERSATION WITH SINGH. CONFIDENTIAL

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